C 101 the women's language. However, to make some distinction between themselves and the people of the mainland, they call the latter balouðouri, from the word ballouð, which means mainland; thus a callinago of the mainland is distinguished in the same way as one would classify a Frenchman as a Parisian or a Langrois. We call those people of the mainland who are friends of our savages Gallybis [Galibis]—and call our savages Caraïbes [Caribs].

C ● 173 If you ask the latter why they separated from the mainlanders and moved to the islands, they can give no reason. However, they all say that their first father, Callinago, left the mainland with his family and settled in Dominica. There he had a long line of de-

C [825] scendants, and the nephews of his nephews, with extreme cruelty, poisoned him. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akaiouman and which is still very much alive in their river. At least this fable shows that they are descended from the peo-

C P 174 ple of the mainland.

Several of the French believe that there were earlier inhabitants of these islands whom the Caribs chased away. This belief is founded upon the fact (and it is even certain according to the savages) that in some of the islands there are still survivors of these people, who retreated to the mountains and who are white like the French and wear long beards. Monsieur d'Esnambuc, governor of Saint Christopher, assured Father Raymond [Breton] that there were some on Saint Christopher. The Caribs affirm [47] that there are some at Guadeloupe and that they dwell above the large river at Goyave and at Grande-Terre. It is certain that there are some at Dominica be-

C [727 567] cause they are often seen there. The first time Father Raymond was at Dominica in 1642, the Caribs had captured a man, a woman, and a girl of these people by surprise. They killed and ate the man, and enslaved the woman and girl. Last year, on the same day Father Raymond arrived, the mountaineers had made a raid, burned a cabin, and carried off a few household goods.

C 173 P 174 Our Caribs, however, say in one of their trusted traditions that they killed the Allouagues, (first) inhabitants of the islands, (1)

1. Roman version: "Our Caribs... say... that they are the first inhabitants of the islands and that the people in the mountains... etc."

c 179 p 174 and that the people in the mountains are the slaves of the Allouagues who fled to the mountains and bred there. The result is that now they c [567 266] only rarely show mercy to male slaves, but rather they kill and eat them. The reason they are white may be because of the cold.

c 142 Regarding their appearance, the Caribs are of good stature and well-proportioned, strong, robust, usually fat, and healthy. They are not c [304] at all deformed except that several are flat-nosed, because their mothers flattened their foreheads and noses at birth. Their natural color is a very bronzed olive. They seem redder because of the c [302] annatto [rocou or urucu] they redden themselves with every day. They all have black hair and cannot tolerate red or blond hair. Very few of them are bald, and they make fun of those who are. They are no more thieving than the French, and even less so.

c 157 As for their temperament, they are all melancholic, sad, and somber; and their faces show it. They rarely speak if not spoken to. For savages they are not too stupid. They are curious about and very skillful in the things they apply themselves to, such as making beds and baskets, fishing, hunting, and shooting the bow and arrow. They climb swiftly and nimbly, jump and [48] swim, and would undoubtedly be capable of greater things.

A young man who was a captive among them told them some story from the Holy Scripture; they questioned him about it and conceived doubts that were not without point.

They are rather generous among themselves and give each other what they have; in like fashion they ask freely. They do not act in this way with us, the French, because they give us nothing and are always asking for something and are not discouraged by a refusal.

They are not naturally cruel, except toward their enemies. They are dangerous when intoxicated and fight among themselves, but outside of that they are easy to get along with.

They are extremely lazy and would rather eat less and work less. They scarcely think of tomorrow and stock no provisions except manioc and sweet potatoes which they plant in season. Very often they find themselves short. They care for neither gold, silver, nor c precious stones.

462 They have their work divided between the men and women. Their honor is offended if they are not esteemed for what they think they are. The men never touch the ordinary work of women, believing that they would degenerate.

1. Origins

101 The true name of these Island Caribs is Callínago. These are the cannibals and man-eaters about whom the Spanish complained so much that they were untameable and that they devoured such prodigious numbers of them and their allies. For this is what the Spanish say in their books. However, I do not wish to have them slandered any more, for I have no grounds to complain about their cruelty. On the contrary I will freely attest their mildness towards me, although it is a sweet cruelty to be chewed, devoured, and torn to pieces in the service of God. The women call them Callíponam. [105]

Caribs of South America are called Galíbi. I have finally learned from captains on the island of Dominica that the words Galíbi and Carib were names that the Europeans had given them. Their true name was Callínago although they designated themselves only with the words oubaóbanum and balouébonum: that is to say either 'from the islands' and 'from the continent.' The Island Caribs were Galibis from South America who branched off in order to conquer the islands. The captain who led them was small in size but great in courage. He did not eat much and drank even less. He exterminated all the native inhabitants, but kept the women, who have always retained something of their language in order to perpetuate the memory of these conquests. He made them carry the heads of his enemies into the caves among the rocks which are at the edge of the sea, and the French have found these. This was done in order that fathers could show them to their children and they successively to their posterity. They told me that they had had kings, and that the word abouyou was the name of those who carried them on their shoulders. The Caribs who had their carbet [men's house] at the foot of Soufrière on Dominica beyond d'Amichon were descended from them. But I did not ask them if the dynasty had begun with this captain who had conquered the islands nor when these kings had ceased to rule. [229]

[757] 824 The Caribs do not use gayac as a remedy for either yaws or the great pox. When they make forked posts of gayac wood to support their houses they say they make it for themselves and their descendants. Actually this wood seems indestructible. For their children they make

4:Du Tertre--1 M-4 (no date) 1667 ST13 Callinago ST13 (ca. 1650)

CONCERNING THE NATIVES OF THE ANTILLES

The Origin of the Island Caribs

173 The Caribs are filled with all kinds of theories concerning their
773 origin and it is not a little difficult to get from them even the semblance of truth, because of the diversity of their stories. Among so many different opinions, however, they do hold one belief in common: they say they are descended from the Galibis, a people who dwell in South America and are their closest neighbors. They do not know the time nor the reason which impelled them to leave their native land and led them to expand into these rather remote islands. They only affirm that their first father, a man called Kalinago [Breton: Callinago], became restless among his nation and, wishing to conquer new lands, embarked with all his family. After having sailed for quite a long time he established himself in Dominica which is an island where Caribs live in fairly large numbers. Kalinago's children, losing the respect that they owed to their father, gave him a poisonous drink which caused his death. Yet it is said he changed his shape and became a hideous fish, which is called by them Atraioman and which lives even today in the river. Only the simplest people agree about this metamorphosis. The others consider it to be a complete delusion.

114 Since one cannot infer anything from this fable which would fully
173 satisfy us concerning their origin, the reader must content himself with what has been stated by the Reverend Father Raymond [Breton] in his dictionary. I don't think there is anyone in Europe at the present time who has a more certain knowledge than he does, for he has spent a good part of his life with these islanders, from whom he has learned everything which it is possible to know about them. Here are his own words:

173 "I have finally learned from the captains on the island of Dominica that the words Galibis and Carib were names that had been given to them by Europeans. Their true name was Callinago and they designated themselves only with the words: oubaóbanum and bolouébonum: that is to say, 'from the islands' and 'from the continent.' These Island Caribs

173 were Galibis from the continent who branched off in order to conquer the islands. The captain who led them was small in size but great in courage. It is said that he ate little and drank even less. All the natives of the country
[198] were exterminated except for the women, who have always retained something of their own language, in order to keep alive the memory of these conquests. The captain then ordered them to carry the heads of his enemies to a place where the fathers could show them to their children and they successively to all their posterity. As a matter of fact these heads have been found by the French in the small caves formed in the rocks by the edge of the sea. They told me that they had once had kings and that the word abouyou was the name for those who carried them on their shoulders. Furthermore they said that the Caribs who had their carbet [men's house] at the foot of Soufrière on Dominica beyond d'Amichon were descended from these kings."

But this good Father did not take the trouble of asking when the Caribs had ceased to have kings, which would be a fact worth knowing.

174 One can add two or three things which clearly show that these peoples are descended from Galibis. First of all there is a common tradition which all of the Caribs believe: they affirm that the Galibis, their ancestors, came into these islands in centuries past in order to fight the Igneri, who were the natives in this country. The second thing which confirms it and about which we will talk elsewhere is the diversity of the language between men and women, which still persists today. They say that this diversity had its origin at the time of the conquest, because the Galibis killed all the males of these islands and only spared the wives and daughters to whom they gave husbands from the young men of their nation. Both groups have maintained their original language. To all of this evidence must be added the general resemblance of religion, of customs, and of language. Thus there can be no question or doubt as to whether they had their origin from the Galibis of the continent.

726 At the beginning of the occupation of Guadeloupe it was a common belief both among the Caribs and among the old French inhabitants that in addition to the Caribs who were the masters of the islands there

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

MYTHOLOGY

776 821 Upon questioning by the missionaries, the *Carib* stated their belief in an unnamed superior power who lived in heaven and was endowed with all goodness. They regarded the earth as an indulgent mother, who furnished them with the things necessary for life.

The sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies were supposed to be human. The sun (noum) was considered a male; as ruler of the stars he prevented their shining during the daytime. He also warmed the stars, and they were believed to become ill during eclipses of the sun when the warming was not possible. The moon (houiou) was female; at first she shone during the daytime, but the coming of the sun filled her with shame and thereafter she appeared only at night. A star named Achinoin was said to be the cause of light rain and strong winds; another star, called Courousmon, controlled the tides and caused the heavy waves which upset canoes. To a *Carib*, Savacou, who became a bird and later a star, was attributed control over the thunder and strong winds. Other stars, the rainbow, and a comet were given similar mythological backgrounds. The first waters in the world were said to be the perspiration and urine of these spirits; the waters became fresh only when the salinity was strained out of them by the ground. Later the stars caused a great flood because the *Carib* failed to worship them.

776 The *Carib* believed that their ancestors had emerged from the navel (or the nostrils and an incision in the thigh) of a man named Louquo, who had descended from heaven, bringing manioc roots and showing the people how to cultivate them and to prepare food. He also explained how to build houses, and according to one version he was the creator of the earth and of fish, which he made out of fragments of manioc bread. Three days after his death Louquo was said to have returned to the sky.

LORE AND LEARNING

[822 849 The *Carib* recognized only four colors—white, black, yellow, and red. They counted up to 20 on their fingers and toes. As already described, 805 they had several methods of recording the time until a rendezvous. Their chiefs, shamans, and old men kept track of the time, counting the months by the moons, the seasons by the passing of the sun over the zenith, and the years by the rise and fall of the Pleiades. They also predicted the [coming of winds and rains by the ascension of certain constellations which, as described above, were believed to control the weather.

● 173 The people stated that they originally came from the mainland to conquer the *Arawak* whom they found living in the Lesser Antilles. They were fond of recounting deeds of bravery in warfare but otherwise do not seem to have had any interest in their past history.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

Florida with the northeast extremity of South America. It is the eastern shore of an inland sea, which may be considered as a basin with several outlets. . . . The islanders of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Bahamas were, according to the uniform testimony of the first *conquistadores*, entirely different from the Caribs. . . . The Caribs, in the XVIth. century, extended from the Virgin Islands on the north to the mouth of the Orinoco, perhaps to the Amazon. . . . Those of the continent admit that the small W. I. islands were anciently inhabited by the Arawaks, a warlike nation yet existing on the Main. . . . They assert that the male Arawaks were exterminated, except the women, by the Caribs, who came from the mouth of the Orinoco. In support of this theory, note the analogy existing between the language of the Arawaks and that of (some of) the Carib women."

[173] The present Caribs, says Im Thurn, say that they arrived in Guiana from sky-land, through a hole in the clouds. Davies, the ancient author from whom we have extensively quoted, says: "The Dominican Caribs said their ancestors came out of the continent, from among the Calibis, to make war against the Arouages (Arawaks) who inhabited the islands, and whom they utterly destroyed, excepting the women, whom they took to themselves," etc. Some have held that the nation had origin in the Floridian peninsula; but this theory is founded upon something like the following "testimony" quoted by Davies (17th century): "from one Master Brigstock, an English gentleman, one of the most curious and inquisitive persons in the world, who, among his other great and singular accomplishments, hath attained the perfection of the Virginian and Floridian languages. . . . Who says (1653) the Caribbeans were originary inhabitants of the Septentrional part of America, of that country which is call'd Florida. They came to inhabit the islands after they had departed from amidst the Apalachites, among whom they lived a long

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

guage. One of the first contingent of priests sent to that island, he landed in Guadeloupe, as he himself tells us, "on the eve of the feast of St Peter and St Paul" in June 1635, first went to live among the Dominica Caribs in January 1641, "depuis lequel temps jusqu'à la fin de 1653 j'ai fréquenté parmi eux, avec quelque interruption," and finally sailed again for France early in 1654.[8] From the time of his arrival in the islands, he showed a keen interest in the Caribs' language, culture, and welfare; and his last thirteen years there were spent in long spells of living among them in Dominica, interspersed with trips to Guadeloupe, St Kitts (St Christopher's), and other islands. Philippe de Beaumont, who succeeded Breton in Dominica, appears to have left, on the Caribs, only a long letter in which he pleads that their extermination should not be pursued to the bitter end, and which resulted in the treaty of March 31, 1660, which he himself signed on behalf of the Caribs of Dominica, and by which English and French both agreed to leave Dominica and St Vincent to the Carib. Of the later Fathers, la Borde (1704) does not say how much personal experience he had with the Caribs, while Labat (1724), whose stay in the islands was a long one, mentions only a two weeks' visit in January 1700 to the Caribs of Dominica, who by that time were for the most part concentrated on the windward (eastern) side of the island. In Martinique, hostilities between Carib and white began in 1635, and by 1638 nearly all the former had been driven out of the island or killed. The census of April 12, 1683, showed a total of only 61 Caribs, including women and children, for the whole island; and according to Labat (1724), only one Carib family remained in all Martinique when he went there as parish priest of Macouba. So much for the relative value of our best known sources.

"The *Carib* name for the Arawak whom they conquered in the Lesser Antilles was *Igneri*."[9] Breton does not give this name, though he has: "*Arrouagues, sont les ennemis de Caraïbes,* touálicha, f. alouágue." On the other hand, Ygneri (iñéri?) and its variants (igneri, eyeri, ieri), should be compared with Breton's "eyéri *homme,*" and with the present-day Black Caribs' eiéri, iéri, *man (vir)*, in the language of the women.

"According to their traditions, they [the Carib] came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus."[10] This statement also has been made, in substance, by a number of other modern authors, and I should be interested to learn its source. Breton relates one of their traditions, according to which the first Island Carib were mainland Galibis who had left the continent

8 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 413.
9 *Handbook*, p. 545.
10 *Handbook*, p. 547.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13
Garif SA12

to conquer the islands led by a Chief "small in body, but great in courage, who ate little, and drank still less"; and goes on to say how they told him that they had had kings in former times, and that the word *aboiyou* was the name given to those who bore the king on their shoulders.[11] Armand de la Paix says that they were unable to give a reasonable account of how they had left the mainland and come to the islands.

> Only that, they all say, their first Kallinago [Carib] father, having left the mainland accompanied by his family, settled in Dominica. He had a long posterity and saw the nephews of his nephews, who, in their extreme cruelty, killed him by poison. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size which they call Akáiuma, and is still full of life in their river.[12]

It is certainly not such traditions as these which can fix the date of the Caribs' first arrival in the Antilles within a century.

Of the Black Carib, Rouse states: "In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This Carib-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore, and later to Ruatán Island, near the coast of Honduras. . . ."[13] In Armand de la Paix' *Relation*, we find under the year 1646: "Some Negroes of Saint Vincent of the isles, being in Saint Lucia, massacred some French people from Martinique by the order of their Carib master"; while according to the Calendar of State Papers (West Indian Colonies) for 1667, the Island of St Vincent then contained "all Indians, and some Negroes from the loss of two Spanish ships in 1635."[14] The introduction of Negroes to St Vincent goes much further back, therefore, than the shipwreck of 1675; and perhaps even to Carib raids on Puerto Rico, antedating the French and English colonization of the Lesser Antilles. According to la Borde, the Negroes in St Vincent had become as powerful as the Indians there, by his day; while twenty years later (1719) the "Black Carib" were masters of the island, outnumbering the "Yellow Caribs" to an extent which, according to Bryan Edwards, had reached the proportions of ten to one before the end of the eighteenth century. They had been on friendly terms with the French, this author

11 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

12 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, p. 46. The former was head of the Dominican mission in Guadeloupe from 1643 to 1648, and reputed author of the *Relation de l'Isle de la Guadeloupe faite par les Missionnaires Dominicains à leur Général en 1647*, which was published in the latter's work.

13 *Handbook*, p. 548.

14 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, pp. 108-109; *Calendar of State Papers*, 1661-1668, No. 1661.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

« men's speech » was then — and in all probability long had been — a secondary language learnt in late childhood for reasons of prestige. According to Island-Carib tradition, which there seems to be no cause for doubting, the explanation of this peculiar situation is that these islands had been conquered before the coming of the Europeans by a band of *Galibi* (*Kalina* or *True Carib*) warriors from Guiana, who had taken the female inhabitants to wife and killed all the men.

What we may call the national language of the historical Island-Carib is no more Cariban than is English, since the Norman Conquest, a Romance language. But although it is, like them, Arawakan, Kariphuna (Island-Carib) appears to have emerged from the parent tongue centuries before Taino, Lokono, Goajiro and Paraujano; and was therefore most probably brought to these islands by a separate migration. From radiocarbon dating it now appears, on the other hand, that the type of pottery known as « White-on-red », and found only in the valley of the Orinoco and in the Antilles, was being made on the lower Orinoco as early as 800 B. C., while a pre-ceramic culture flourished at the same period on the neighbouring island of Trinidad. At that time, the ancestors of the above-named Arawakan-speaking tribes formed, in all likelihood, a united people speaking one language; and we may conjecture that the first split came about through a partial migration that took horticulture and pottery to Trinidad. The geographical situation in historical times of the Taino, Island-Carib, and Lokono further suggests that the first migrants spread in the course of time to other, more northerly islands, where they were subsequently cut off from their fellow tribesmen in Trinidad by a second migration from the mainland — that of the Island-Caribs' Arawakan-speaking ancestors, who had not participated in the first migration.

It may be fairly assumed that horticulture and pottery were already known to an Arawakan-speaking tribe ancestral to all those we have mentioned so far; but it would not be surprising had the later migrants, whether friendly or hostile to the earlier settlers, introduced innovations that were welcome to the latter dwellers on the periphery of a culture-area. And indeed Taino and Island-Carib have in common several culture words that, whatever their ancestry, are not shared by Lokono or Goajiro, whose basic vocabularies apparently are closer to that of Taino than to that of the Island-Carib. So, for example, the basketry 'sifter' is called *hibis* in Taino and *hibisei* in Island-Carib, but *manale* (borrowed from a Cariban language) in Lokono; the little tree, *Bixa orellana*, whose fruit provided a red paint, is called *bija* in Taino and *bisei* in Island-Carib, but *sirabuli* in Lokono; *Genipa americana*, whose fruit provided a black stain, is called *huna* in Taino and *seua* in Island-Carib, but *luna* in Lokono; and the pineapple is called *ididoua* in both Taino and Island-Carib, but *nana* in Lokono. Institutional friendship, known both to the Taino and to the Island-Carib (but not to the Lokono), was designated as *natiao* (by the former) or *natiai* (by the latter) 'our friend', *datiao* (by the former) or *atiai* (by the latter) 'my friend'. This last example also suggests a closer genetic relationship between Taino and Lokono, which also has the prefix d(a)- as marker of first person singular; compare Lokono *dabitada* 'my clan' with Island-Carib *abiliara* 'my (fishing-) line', string (for bow), etc.

Also the Carib invaders of the Lesser Antilles undoubtedly brought with them changes and innovations, many of which are reflected in the vocabulary. To judge from the latter, these mainly concerned affinal (as opposed to con-